## EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION.

It will not be forgotten by our rogular readers that during the last winter we published some intercepted correspondence between Mr. J. P. BEN-JAMIN, the Confederate Secretary of State, and Mr. SLIDELL, the Confederate emissary in Paris. respecting an alleged plot on the part of certain commercial agents of France to separate the State of Texas from the Southern Confederacy. The suspicions of the insurgent Secretary were entirely unfounded, but this correspondence, under another of its heads, proved conclusively (what, however, was well known before) that the Confederates were making large use of money to control the European press. In his letter o? December 13, 1862, to Mr. De Leon, (addressed to the care of Mr. Slidell.) Mr. Benjamin urged the extension of the "field of his operations," so as to embrace, if possible, the press of Central Europe in his campaign, and he promised to send him an early remittance, &c.

Commenting on these developments in a despatch under date of February 13, 1863, Mr. DAYTON, our Minister at Paris, wrote as follows:

"The insurgents have taken an enlarged, and, I think a very intelligent view of the requirements of their posi-tion, and have acted upon it from the beginning. While prosecuting their campaign at home, they have at no time failed to remember that public sentiment abroad would have much to do with their ultimate success or defeat. They have spared no money or means, therefore, in their attempts to mould this sentiment in Europe to their pur-

If the insurgents may be justly said to have taken "an enlarged and very intelligent view of the requirements of their position" when they sought, or still seek, to buy the support of a venal press in Europe, it will be readily understood that Mr. Dayton speaks exclusively of the requirements of their position as "insurgents," compelled to adopt any resort, however exceptionable, to bolster up their cause. We are sure every reader in the Loyal States will concur in the opinion that. speaking for an established Government which respects itself, as the condition of deserving and challenging the respect of other nations, Mr. Secretary SEWARD appropriately interpreted the thought of the country when, in reply to the suggestion of Mr. Dayton, he wrote as follows, under date of last March 2d:

"We have indeed suffered severely by a mercenary combination of political agencies for influencing public opinion in Europe against us But the evil is probably uch less than it would have been if we had followed the insurgents into the market to compete with them for vena support among the organs of public opinion. The honor and good name of the Government have been preserved and its virtue maintained.

## THE REBELS AND KING COTTON.

The Confederates are slowly learning some things After their three years' terrible experience they are eve coming to doubt the omnipotence of King Cotton, the sovereign to whom they bowed, and to whom they declared the whole world must bow. They began the rebellion with the belief and the declaration that, if need be, they could bring not only the North, but Europe to terms, by cutting off the supply of cotton. What graphic pictures they drew of the desolate appearance which the manufacturing towns on both sides of the Atlantic would present, of the suffering and the starvation of the opera tives, and of the riots and anarchy which would ensue But they have begun to see their folly and mistake. They have learned that they do not hold the world in bondage to them. The Richmond papers have all recently been discussing the subject The Enquirer thus speaks :

"This theory of our Southern statesmen has been fairly and fully tested. For three years have we, with com mendable self-denial, forberne the use of these sleepin energies of which we are possessed. King Cotton has lown in double irons-Linco, a blocksderswhilst we embargo this unfortunate arbiter of civilization Our policy, subordinated to Lincoln's policy, holds this captive monarch in solitary confinement, there to waste in neglect and disease. Meanwhile the machinery of the world is fast adapting itself to fabrics from other materials, and, when our king is restored to liberty, a thousand nterests will obstruct his resumption to power

"This experience of three years is now an open book viting our earnest study. Has this disuse of cotton this wilful imprisonment of our own powers by our own Government—forced recognition from foreign nations If this book of experience teaches us any thing, it teache us one thing never to be forgotten: Cotton, to he king, must be free to act and play his part on the theatre of th industrial world. At large and in unrestrained freedom every where to visit the shops of industry, this Southern monarch wields an almost undisputed sceptre. But chained up by blockaders and pinioned to the earth by our own embargoes, this mighty potentate, like the Stuarts or Bourbons, becomes an unbonored sham and an empty

pretension. Cotton as a prisoner, cetton in confinement, cotton hid in swamps or burnt in depots, has brought us no re--it has procured us no influence in the counsels foreign nations. Let us, therefore, abandon a policy that this harvest of domestic ruin, and only bears for us these fruits of national abatement abroad. It is most evident that we cannot coerce foreign nations by withholding cotton from their workshops. The empire of cotton exists only in its use, and ceases when it is withdrawn from com-merce. Let us partially change our administrative policy in respect to the great staples of cotton, tobacco, and naval stores. Let us freely license the export of these prime necessities, and give them free passage though our lines in any direction, and to any market that individual enterprise

In another article the Enquirer says that Confederate currency has nearly lost its purchasing power, and that the use of the strong arm of impressment has almost failed, and in a few months more will have lost its potency altogether. It, therefore, recommends that the cotton and tobacco which the Government hold be exchanged for supplies for the army. The Richmond Whig strongly urges the adoption of the plan. If this suggestion of the Richmond journalists is adopted, as it probably will be, the European holders of the cotton loan will be very much interested in hearing of the fact. This cotton, which it is proposed to exchange for food, is the very cotton which is pledged for the payment of the loan. The agents who went abroad to negotiate the loan took great pains to assure the purchasers that the cotton was safe from our troops, that it was carefully stored in sheds remote from other buildings, and so in little danger of being burnt But they did not, so far as we know, furnish any guaranty that the rebel Government would not use it for some other purpose than that specified .- Providence Journal.

CAPTURE OF THE STEAMER CUMBERLAND. The Navy Department has received information of the capture of the Anglo-rebel steamer Cumberland, on the 5th instant, by the United States steamer De Soto. Her cargo consists largely of arms and munitions of war, and it is confidently stated that the vessel was intended to he come a rebel privateer. She arrived in Havana late in September last, and commenced making extensive alterations. She sailed on the 31st of January, but was rul into Mariel by one of our gunboats. She sailed again on the 34, intending to try the blockade at Mobile. The De Soto captured her after a chase of less than two hours. She is a vessel of about 700 tons, and reported to be fast

## THE RE-ENLISTMENT OF VETERANS.

The Secretary of War has decided that the term three fourths, used in connexion with veteran regiments, means three-fourths of the organization serving together, and does not include men absent in prisons, hospitals, or convalescent camps. Men belonging to veteran regiments. who have not served two years, and consequently do not come within the limits of re-enlistment, will be permitted to go on furlough with the main body of the regiment, in case it goes as an organization, provided they agree to reenlist as soon as they come within the limits. Men who come within the limits, yet decline to re-enlist, will not be granted furloughs.

MR. AMBROSE'S LETTERS. THE A CONTLETTER VIL. CT

REBELLION. JANUARY, 1864. MY DEAR MR. SEATON: After an interval of some months, during which I have foreborne to continue these speculations upon the character and motives of the rebelion, from a conviction that the stirring military events of that period had too much excited the public mind to allow me a patient reader, I now resume my task, not

without some doubt that, in the phrase of the day, we have got past the period of argument, and will endure only the appeal to action. In the preceding letters I had occasion to say much of Secession and Revolution, and to show the different categories in which they respectively place the war waged by the South. It requires no great insight to perceive the

relation which these two ideas, considered as motives of conduct, have to the question of mere right and wrong in this conflict. In that view they have a notable significance, and stand very wide spart. I recur to them now to make some remarks on that point, and to note the alter nate use the partisans of the South have made of these two topics as persuasives in aid of their project to destroy

By the opportune use of both, as occasion favored, they have increased the popularity of their cause. They would have failed if they had been compelled to present it to their people singly, upon either of the two. Neither secession alone, nor revolution alone, would have found that undivided support which is essential to success. In that storm of excitement raised by their chiefs at the beginning of the strife, and in the flurry of that vainglorious, and, I might say, insolent spirit of defiance, that contemptu ous disparagement of the North as a selfish, vulgar, and craven people, over whom they promised an easy victory and a short war, the Southern masses were burried along into the irrevocable step of rebellion. Few stopped to weigh the excuse for such a step, but listened with willing ear to every pretext, however false or feeble, in its justification which partisanship or political bigotry could sug

gest. The multitude were incapable of any accurate or conscientious opinion on the subject; all were anxious to take a quick part in the coming fray, not doubting for a moment that the pre-ordained feat was to be accomplished with little more expenditure of means than the show of force and a swaggering boast of certain triumph. Thus it came that we saw the instant exhibition of that martial array which astonished the world by its magnitude and the sober thinking people of the Loyal States by its madness. All that host that came into the field, and that great reserve which stood behind it at home, claimed the vindication of their conduct on one or the other of these mo tives-often in the avowal of both. They professed secession, or revolution, or both, quite indifferent to the moral responsibility inferred by either. I have observed many persons, whose previous educa-

tion and habit of opinion had committed them against the doctrine of secession, seizing with avidity upon what they were glad to call a right of revolution, too plainly as a mere salvo to bring their easily satisfied consciences into accord with their foregone resolve to embark in the rebellion. They imagined they had found a complete justifica tion in so wretched a self-deceit as this, even for a deed so portentous as that of rending their country into fragments. They did not deign to question themselves whether their revolution had a single plea to redeem it from the disgrace of an immeasurable crime. It was enough to call it "revolution," and thenceforth treason became transmuted into a virtue. "You are very much mistaken. sir," said a young Marylander, conversing with an acquaintance in Washington, just after that famous nine teenth of April, speaking with exultation of that bloody scene in the streets of Baltimore, in which citizen soldiers, whilst peaceably marching through, in obedience to law, and in the performance of honorable duty, were ferociously set upon and murdered—the young spokesman himsalf scarcely concealing his own participation in the affair. but describing it as a heroic exploit-" you are much mistaken when you call this a riot. No, sir; it was a revolu-

tion! Maryland does not go for secession, she goes for revolution." All thought of crime had, of course, vanished from his mind. His heart was full of war. He was ready to desolate every field in Maryland and convert her chief city into a blackened ruin. Revolution-with what excuse for it ?-had been installed. The next step was to make it glorious with carcage '

With such a flippant and silly casuistry as this, how many thousands have imbrued their hands in the blood of their brethren!

opinion of the community in which they lived, by an open avowal of a purpose of revolution—there being stil some prudent suspicion that the people of the neighborhood were not yet maddened up to the delusion of believing it the tyranny of our free Government-who have gradually slid into the doctrine of secession as the only shift left them to gratify a love for political excitement and to furnish a pretext for joining the ranks of comrades who had fired their imagination with visions of honor and hopes of personal reward to be won over the prostrate body of their bleeding country. In such case the feeble plea of secession-once called the peaceful process of changewas held to justify all that wild violence which preluded and challenged the measures taken by the Government for its own defence.

I will not say that there are not large numbers of persons in the South who have given their aid to this destructive war on more honest grounds. It is not credible that in a conflict of such momentous issues whole communities should rush into it with such earnest zeal as stirs the heart of the Southern States, and should pursue it with such brave perseverance, through such an experience of suftering and sacrifice, as we now witness, without being sustained by some very vivid conviction of right and duty. We know too well and deplore too poignantly the fact that in those ranks are found many men adorned with the best qualities that usually inspire respect and confidence Their armies and their councils are full of them. They do us a great injustice if they think we underrate either their sincerity or their personal worth. How joyously would we welcome them back to that brotherhood which they have so recklessly broken! But all history warns us that the virtue of strife is not to be judged by the fervor of its champions nor by the earnestness of their convic tions. A false principle, unhappily, more potently invokes the passionate vindication of mankind than a true one. It wages a fiereer war; but, in the end, is surest of overthrow. When it is brought into conflict with the sentiment of a society as powerful as its own the very hazard of its assertion presents a danger which converts it into a ession that so distempers the mind as to make reflection hopeless. Many good men of the South have been swept from their feet by this impulse as by a whirlwind.

It is very difficult to find the means of friendly approaa rebellion like this to that glass of men I have just described-men who, with honest convictions, have fallen into the error of false opinion through temperament or local influence or some ply of early education. The wrongbeaded are proverbially obstingte even in the debates of tranquil life; they are proportionately hopeless of persua sion in the great turmoils of public affairs when passion

stimulates the heart and inflames the pride of the mind. In looking to this description of really earnest cham pions of the South we shall find them, like the others, dividad between the two motives to which I have referred.

There are not a few of the most authoritative of these champions who, by some strange aberration which almost amounts to an idiosyncrasy, have grown up in the conscien tions belief that our national Union was never, and never meant to be, any thing better than a rope of sand-the feeblest voluntary compact, unguarded by a single defence against the superior power of the States; that no one owed it allegiance-not even the poor respect of revernce; that no State owed it obedience any further than suited its own convenience. Such a fancy must naturally engender contempt for the Union whenever a contingency night arise to bring it into conflict with State pretension

We may trace this extraordinary doctrine to a political vice which has been nursed in the peculiar constitution of Southern society, and which has given the predominant bue to all characteristic Southern opinion; that most pernicious vice of an exorbitant and engrossing State pride a senti-

to any just estimate or conception of the national supre-

I do not stop here to consider the source, the extent o the influences of this sentiment. I have only to remark that it takes hold of much of the Southern mind with the grasp and quality of a great egotism, creating an emotion of selfglorification in those who foster it and breeding ideas of ectional and personal superiority which make them jealous of the National Government, and in a certain sense unfriendly to all who look upon it as a paramount power. They habitually degrade the Union in the common esteen of their circle, reduce their politics to the standard of a narrow provincialism, and disqualify themselves for that omprehensive statesmanship which embraces a catholic

We have been accustomed in past time-long before this sad commotion had ruffled the surface of our peaceful life -to smile at some of the phases of character which this entiment had impressed upon a class of country gentlenen very frequently encountered in the older States of the South. Many a man of this worshipful order, jocund and complacent in the possession of the patriarchal dignity and influence of hereditary bondsmen and acres, has been pleasantly noted, in those innocent days, for a constituional dogmatism on the question of the supreme sovereignty of the State, and for the radiant self-satisfaction with which he was wont to demonstrate the shallowness of that pestient fallacy which, he affirmed, so often misled the logic of Congress and muddled the brains of Webster and Clayand even, he was sorry to say, of Marshall and Madisonthe fallacy, namely, of supposing that the United States could lawfully aspire to the grandeur of a nation. Centraization was the phantom which appeared especially to haunt the minds of these worthy gentlemen. olunging into the gulf of centralization," was their common warning. If, in making this dogma clear, they were somewhat incomprehensible or even tedious, they were always earnest and, in their own judgment, infallible.

But whilst this State pride did no greater harm, in our sarlier and happier era, than the producing this crop of mpracticable dialecticians, whose obstructive philosophy was constantly overleaped by the general good sense of the nation, and whom the country could afford to endure, and even to flatter, for the good-natured honesty of their opinions, it has, in this later and sadder day, converted its once nnocuous votaries into seditious plotters against the common peace, and, by rapid transition, into fierce soldiers and mplacable rebels. It has now become apparent that this excessive pride of State has been silently, for half a cenury or more, sowing the seeds of that dreadful strife of which the present generation is reaping the harvest. All of this class of thinkers whom I have sought to char

acterise by their extravagant devotion to a distorted ideal of the ascendant position of the State in our political sysem, and by their personal sentiment of State pride and its corollaries of State rights, as these are magnified by the ens of Southern opinion, are, by natural consequence and fair deduction from their antecedents, out and out secesnionists, honestly consistent in their faith, and who do not pretend to or desire other justification for their participaion in the present disturbance than that which they find in their own philosophy.

There is another class, the counterpart to these, equally incere in their conviction, wholly opposed to this theory of secession, wholly unstricken by this inordinate estimate of the State, who are afflicted with a hallucination even more mischievous. They are men who have wrought themselves to the belief that the National Government has already grown to be a monster of such horrid proportions and propensities as to be no longer endurable by a free people; that it has been perverted—to use their own lan guage-into " a consolidated despotism." under the presure of whose malignant power all liberty, civil and religious, is doomed to be crushed out; that the representative system no longer affords space for the expression of the opular will as a defence against executive ambition; that State organizations are no longer barriers against National encroachments, and that the President and his party are not only the absolute lords of the ascendant, but that their power is destined to be perpetual and universal. Such are the spectres that have affrighted the imagination of these men and moved them to the melancholy conviction that nothing short of a bloody revolution can rescue them and their generations from the grasp of this inexorable tyranny. Nothing, therefore, in their view, is more righteous, manly, and patriotic than a stern appeal to the sword as a redress for their wrongs. In this excited temper they rush into the melse of revolution, with the sincere hope of being able to regain their lost liberties in a new confederacy, enlightened and sustained by the toleraut and freedom-loving nature of Southern opinion, and founded on

Both of these opposite groups of thinkers are now prooundly in earnest in this conflict, resolved to do or die; and, what is certainly calculated to excite the wonder of an unconcerned spectator, are quite in harmony with each other, acting together for a common end, apparently unconscious of their divergence of creed, and the trouble they might expect to find, in the event of success, to adninister to their mutual satisfaction the form of governnent they have unanimously adopted.

Now, it is to be remarked that, whilst the master spirits of this furious war have seen the value and taken advantage of these alternate agencies which have been so busy in stirring up the people to a revolt against the Government; and whilst they have lost no opportunity to encourage this variety of motive, and have plied every artifice of seduction or force to lure, drive, or drag impetuous manhood and credslous age, no less than pliant youth, into fatal alliance with the crime of treason by every argument adaptad to the prejudices, scruples, or different temperaments they had to deal with, they have themselves been cautious in every public or official proclamation or their enterprise to avoid any acknowledgment of a design of revolution. Whatever the intrinsic motive of their assault has been however violent and revolutionary their proceeding, the official attitude they have assumed is that of States asserting their right to a peaceful and constitutional retirement from the National Union. They proclaim a right of secession as the sole basis of their action; whilst it is too unhappily evident that both their design and practice are re volution in its boldest and rudest form of exhibition. Their proclamation is intended for the world, and more especially for that European world whose sympathy they have evoked, whose aid they have expected, and whose

moral support it was deemed all important to conciliate. They were too satute not to perceive that whilst their cheme was simply a design to destroy the Union by a daring and impious act of violence, and upon its ruins to construct a separate empire of their own, adapted to the polity suggested by their personal ambition and the greed of a fancied boundless wealth, they would hold a vantage ground in the great guarrel by keeping out of view every consideration which might infer their seimowledgment of

We may easily recount the obvious disadvantages which such an avowal would have thrown in their way, and which the secession theory-if the world could be persuaded to secredit it-would avoid.

First. The acknowledgment of a revolutionary move. ment would (as I have hitherto had occasion to remark) have carried the admission that they were the aggressors in the war; that war was contemplated by them as the necessary and premeditated means of their success, and was, consequently, an act of their own making-for revolution always implies rebellion, and rebellion is war.

Second. It would have silenced at once that popular outery against coercion which was found so effective in the beginning of the guarrel in exciting a prejudice against the Government, by charging it with the perpetration of a flagrant outrage against States that were merely assertng their constitutional rights. For reballion hains in its nature aggressive, every man would acknowledge that the Government would be but in the performance of its clearest duty in arraying the force of the country to resist the blow aimed at it and to punish the assailant. If there be any obligation more distinctly sanctioned by the concurrent opinion of mankind or the law of nations, and the reglect of which is stigmatized by a deeper disgrace than any other in the sphere of public duty, it is that which is demanded of every nation to protect the welfare of its people against " privy conspiracy, sedition, and rebellion" -those three grievous plagues of organized society against which the church weekly invokes the deliverance of ment which, we may say, is not only dangerous, but fatal Heaven. If, therefore, the rebel leaders bad announced aware of the hazards and the penalty of their undertaking, were told that it was carried by a large majority. Subse

violent spplication of force, there was no man amongst them so obtuse as not to be capable of seeing how senseess must have been the complaint against the President for invoking the aid of the military power of the country to resist them.

Third. They knew that a scheme of revolution, being an appeal to those who are discontented with the Governmen o rebel against it, only addresses itself to such as believe in its expediency, and leaves all who do not assent to that expediency at liberty to refuse their aid; that this freedom of action would, in the first stages of the movement, have allowed a large portion of the people of the South the opportunity to stand firm to their loyalty and refuse to take any share in the revolt against their country; whilst, on the secession theory, the State would act in its sovereign capacity, and, by declaring the separation complete, would exact the obedience of its citizens. In the first case, the citizen would regard himself as an individual free agent, with full liberty to decide upon his own conduct; in the latter, he would be overborne and coerced by a corporate authority claiming his allegiance and subordinating his ndividual will to what is called the public interest.

Fourth. Revolution also in ers another and still more embarrassing right-that of counter revolution. If the State may rebel against the National Government, why may not an aggrieved or discontented portion of the people of the State rebel against the State? Rebellion is a teacher of " bloody instructions" which may "return to plague the inventor." What argument can Virginia, for xample, make in favor of a revolt against the authority of the Union, that may not be used with tenfold force by her own western counties to justify a revolt against her? Virginia herself had really no definable grievance against the Union. She was absolute mistress of her own domestic government, and could freely enact and execute all laws which she might deem necessary to her own welfare within her own limits. No human power could interfere with her there. She has never yet indicated a single item of rievance resulting from the acts of the Federal Governent. In fact that Government has always been, in great part, in her own hands, or under the control of her influence. If she has not been happy and presperous it is simply her own fault. I mean to say she has no cause whatever to excuse her rebellion against the Union. Yet she revolted; we may say, gave to the revolution a countenance and support without which it would have speedily sunk into a futile enterprise. Having come into it, she assumed the right to compel her unwilling citizens to cast their lives and fortunes into the same issue. A large portion of her people, comprising the inhabitants of many counties in the mountain region of the Alleghanies, have always been distinguished-as, indeed, seems to be the characteristic of all our mountain country-for their strong attachment to the Union. These people have an aversion to slavery and have been steadily intent upon establishing and expanding a system of free labor. They have, therefore, very little in common, either of sentiment or interest, with the governing power of the State. When, therefore, the question of secession was submitted to them they voted against it. From that moment they were marked, and when the State, under the control of its lowland interest, raised the banner of revolt, its first movement was to invite the Southern army to occupy the mountain distric's to overawe and drive the people there, not only into submission to the dominant power of the State, but into active hostility against the Union. To this end these loyal people were pursued with a bitter persecution, harried by a ruffian soldiery, hunted from their homes into the mountain fastnesses, their dwellings burnt, their crops destroyed, their fields laid waste, and every other cruelty inflicted upon them to which the savage spirit of revolution usually resorts to compel the consect of those who resist its command. . The inhabitants of these beautiful mountain valleys are a simple, brave, and sturdy people, and all these terrors were found insufficient to force them into an act of treason. They refused, and in their turn revolted against this execrable tyranny and drew their swords in favor of the Union What more natural or righteons than such a resistance And yet Virginia affects to consider this the deepest of crimes, and is continually threatening vengeance against what she calls these rebels-Virginia, the rebel, denouncing rebellion!

Her own plea is that she has only seceded, but Western Virginia rebels—there is a great difference.

The Southern Confederacy, like Virginia, sees this gre

n Western North Carolina, in Arkansas, and even in parts of Georgia and Alabama Counter revolution would be rife in many districts, if the rebel Government did not suppress it with an iron hand and subjugate the people by the presence of military force. Even this would be impossible if they had not insinuated into the popular mind of the South, as largely as they have done, the conviction of a right of secession, and persuaded the country that they were seting on that theory and were but apperting the legitimate sovereignty of the States.

Western Virginia, for two years, endured the privation and suffering of this cruel and wicked attempt to enforce its submission and compel its people to abjure their Legislature which authorized that Convention had taken expest and eager allegiance to the Union: two years that care to provide that no ordinance of secession should have left them without law, without any of the apparatus of any effect unless ratified by a subsequent expression of the government, helpless in every thing but their own firm popular will in the regular election. When the Convenresolution and voluntary self-control as an orderly commu- tion assembled at Richmond there was a majority of its nity; until, finding themselves under a necessity for organi- members opposed to the ordinance. The scenes that were zation, they erected their broken community into a govern- enacted in the sequence of the proceeding by which that ment claiming its foundation in a just and righteous revo- majority was reduced to a minority are only partially iution, and in that character sought a place in the Union. known to the country. Whilst the sessions were open to Congress assented to their claim, and holding them as the public observation the majority held its ground, but loyal men, constituting a majority in number of the whole amidst what perils and appliances every inhabitant of State, accorded to them the right to express the voice of and there were many, who had dared to speak in the Conthe State in favor of the division which thus gave a new vention in favor of the Union, were exposed to the grossest member to the Union.

What lawful objection can the South make to this counthe case, absurd idea that it is not itself pursuing a career | the ordinance. The Convention then resolved to exclude deavor to persuade the world that they are not amenable both in the Convention and out of it-a large number of o the responsibilities of a rebellion, one which I have persons were plunged into the deopest anxiety and alarm. The inauguration of a rebellion imposes upon those who an assault upon the peace of society. It must be no casual | the day in the streets. The hotels were filled with strandisturbance of the welfare of a district, no fancied possible wrong impending over the future, no metive of factious ambition, but a real, present, permanent element of sult, nor even sometimes without danger of personal vioactual or prospective discontant which is beyond the reach lence. The recusant members of the Convention were of peaceful redress through the appointed forms of amend- plied with every expedient to enforce their submission ment, but which is so radicated in the constitution of gov. The weak were derided, the timed builtied, the wavering ernment that nothing short of forcible resistance can re- cajoled with fulse promises and false representations of move it. The writers in the interest of legitimacy, as the state of opinion in the country. Those who could not that is understood in European law, say it must be a con- be reached by these arguments, but who were found plidition of intolerable and irremediable oppression. Our able to more genial impulses, were assailed by flattery, by American doctrine does not go so far as that. We sub- the influences of friendship, by the blandishments of the stitute for it a reasonable apprehension of an incurable dinger table, and anally carried away by the wild enthuperversion of government towards the invasion of public siasm of midnight revelry. If the Convention had sat in or private rights. And, even in that case, revolution can- Staunton or Fredericksburg-any where but in Ricamondnot justly be resorted to until, by appeal to all the normal no ordinance of secession could have been passed. As it or appointed means of redress, it is proved that remedy is was, it was a work of long and sinister industry to bring hopeless. Short of these conditions, revolution is the it about. It became necessary to fire the people with new greatest of crimes, the blacker in proportion to the un- and startling sensations—to craze the public mind with reality of the asserted grief or the neglect of the resort to excitement. To this end messages were sent to Charles the ordained process of amendment. Indeed, it is difficult | ton to urge the bombardment of Sumter. The fort was to conceive of any justifiable motive to revolution in a accordingly assailed and forced to surrender, notwithstandpopular representative government, where the whole sov- ing an assurance from the commander that he could not ereign power resides in the people themselves, and their | hold out three days for want of provisions The Presiconstitution and laws are subject to any amelioration sug-dent's proclamation calling out the militia—which was the gested by the popular will. Certainly the founders of our necessary and expected consequence of this outrage-G-wernment supposed that, in the scheme they matured, supplied all the rage that was wanted. The whole Sout

they had forever extinguished the right of revolution. overthrow the Union by force; and, confessing that de that it might be successfully put. It was taken three sign, they would occupy simply the position of rebels fully days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, and the public

laws and break up the established order of the Union by become liable to be treated as traitors, they, their aiders and abetters. They lose all claim to the protection of the laws, and, still more emphatically, to the right to exercise any privilege of national citizenship. They can hold no office, State or Federal, which implies allegiance to the Government; they abjure or renounce all right to give a vote in either State or national affairs where the qualifica tion demands national citizenship; they are enemies, while in arms, to be met in mortal conflict; when sub dued, they are culprits, dependent upon the clemency of the justice of the Government.

It was to avoid these conclusions, as I have said, that the authors of this movement have been careful to vail their proceeding under the official proclamation of the right of secession.

They have found it a difficult task to reconcile the im-

etuous rashness of their career with this theory. Secestion, if bonestly conceived to be a right, and honestly pursued, would have sought, at least, a preliminary parley in a convention. It would have moved slowly along through all the customary forms of debate. It would have published a manifesto of its motives for the separation and calmly laid down the law which defined its privilege, and have shown the unarimity of the Southern people in the belief of it. None of these things has it done. The conductors of the proceeding began in a paroxysm of impetuous enthusiasm; asserted their purpose in a general muster of their forces; put every State in arms, and furnished their magazines of war; boasted of their prowess, with threats of seizure of the Capital, and even of invasion and conquest of the North ; glorified themselves with the imagination of an unlimited control over the sympathy and interest of foreign Powers, which they confidently contemplated as prompt and irresistible allies. Their lan guage was not only that of arrogant dictation, but of eager and bloody defiance. They rushed forward with a pre cipitation which seemed, and no doubt was intended, to preclude all reflection or inquiry into the merits of the cause. There was the ominous glimmer of predetermined war in every step that was taken. Their first act was to close the courts against the recovery of debts, which was sufficiently explained, in the sequel, by the confiscation of all moneys due to Northern creditors. The Charleston Mercury, exulting in the approach of the day for assembling the State Convention, maliciously spoke of secession s "quasi war," which would justify, what it commended, the sequestration of all property in the South elonging to Northern citizens. They seized the national forts and arsenals wherever they could lay their hands on hem; insulted the nation and disgraced themselves by ontemptible act of contrived treachery in compassing the surrender of the army in Texas by the complicity of its wn officers. They want money, and they seize the mint at New Orleans; arms, and they seize the manufactory at Harper's Ferry; ships, cannon, and naval stores, and they forcibly take possession of the navy yard at Gosport, and pounce upon revenue cutters, private steamers, and nerchant vessels at their moorings; they even exhort and ncourage officers of the navy, to whom the nation had onfided the guardianship of its honor and its flag, to be ray that sacred trust, by an act too base to find expression in the vocabulary of execuation. All these things are lone, for the most part, in the States where they were perpetrated, before they had even laid the flimsy foundaion of an ordinance of secession, and done, too, by the orders and assistance of men who have wearied the public ear with the ceaseless vaunt of their chivalry

Senators and Cabinet Ministers, as well as officers the army and navy, did not scruple to retain their posts for no other reason than the advantage it gave them in striking a more sure and deadly blow at the heart of the Government which had elevated them to these honors History, in its most revolting chapters, does not furnish a page of deeper infamy than that engendered by the mad. ness of this wicked zeal to destroy. Perfidy would seem to have risen to the rank of a cardinal virtue : " tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, civium animos invaserat!"

These acts, let me repeat, were chiefly the forerunners of the deed of secession, perpetrated in a time of peace. and whilst the National Government was yet in the hands of the perpetrators, a helpless, compliant, and almost will ing accessary to their design; when the small national army and navy were scattered far and wide; when that untrained military power which sleeps in the bosom of the Republic, and which no peril had yet awakened, could not possibly have been arrayed to meet the emergency; when the public mind was palsied by the sudden stupor which difference in the two categories, and is quick enough to this incredible outrage had cast upon it. In these circumtake advantage, as occasion serves, of that which suits its stances was the peaceful process of secession set on foot and the deceived masses of the Southern States stimulated unnatural frenzy which wildly hurried them i treason from which retreat soon became impossible.

When this drams of Secession came to the stage of its ormal enactment in the passage of the secession ordinances it was characterized by frauds only more stupendous than those I have described, because they implicated a greater umber of actors and spread over a wider surface. Whilst some of the States, perhaps a majority of them.

were in earnest in their resolve to secede, the most im. portent States were not; and if the people in these had een left to the free expression of their wish they would have refused. The Convention of Virginia had been elected by a vote which was largely against secession, and the people of Virginia who retain a lawful citizenship in that Richmond at that time knows. The best men of the State. insults from the mob that filled the lobbies and by whom they were pursued with hootings and threats to their own ter revolution, but the simple, and, in the actual state of dwellings. Still, no vote could be got sufficient to carry of revolution, but only a constitutional right of secession ! | the public and manage their work in secret session. From Lastly, I may add to the considerations which have ope- that day affairs took a new turn. The community of Richrated upon the mind of the Southern leaders in their en- mond was filled with strife. The friends of the Union. resented in a former letter, and which I briefly repeat | They felt that the cause was lost and that the sentiment here as necessary to the completeness of this summary, of the majority of the State would be overruled. Quarrels arose. Ardent and reckless men were distempered with attempt it the necessity of showing a just cause for such passion. It was no longer safe to discuss the subject of

became ablaze. Men lost all gelf-control, and were ready But those I have enumerated are, at least, the condi- to obey any order. The vote of the Convention had been tions to which the leaders of the present rebellion would canvassed from time to time during this process of riperbe bound to submit their action if they confess a design to | ing the mind for the act of secession, and it was now found

their design as one of revolution, seeking to overthrow the | and presumably ready to meet them. In that view they | quent disclosures show that upwards of fifty of its members stood firm and preserved their equanimity in this great tempest of passion. The scene at the taking of the vote is described by one of the members as resembling the riot of a hospital of lunatics.

The ratification of this act was yet to be gone through as prescribed by the law, in a vote of the people to be taken in May. That proceeding was substantially ignored in all that followed. An appointment of members to the rebel Congress was immediately made, to represent the State in the Provisional Government then established at Montgomery. The President of the new Confederacy was forthwith invited to send an army into the State: and accordingly, when the month of May arrived, troops were stationed in all those counties where it was supposed any considerable amount of loyalty to the Union existed amongst the people. The day of election appointed for the ratification found this force stationed at the polls and the refractory people mastered and quelled into siles Union men were threatened in their lives if they should dare to vote against the ordinance; and an influential leader in the movement, but recently a Senator of the United States, wrote and published a letter hinting to those who might be rash enough to vote against seces that they must expect to be driven out of the State. Of course, the ratification found no opposition in any doubtful county. I do not say that, in a free vote, it might not have been casried. Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard had both, in pursuance of that policy of profitable sensation-making, been seized in the interval after the passage of the ordinance, and the passions of the people had been still more fiercely wrought up to a fury that had banished all hope of reflection; but my object is to show that the whole secession movement was planned and conducted in the spirit of headlong revolution and premeditated war.

in Virginia. In Missouri it was no better. The attempt was made to carry Kentucky and Maryland by the same arts and the same frauds, but utterly failed. Maryland has repudiated secession and its abettors with a persistent and invincible loyalty. Kentucky, under severe trials and in the actual contest of civil war, has bravely and honors bly reserved her faith and repelled every assault. Secession has never won an inch of her soil that it did not temporarily win by the sword, and was not again forced to abandon. In not less than seven or eight elections has she declared her unalterable fealty to the Union by overwhelming majorities. There has never been the smalles ground for a pretence of her acceptance of a place in the Southern Confederacy-where, nevertheless, she is feigned to be represented by members in both Houses of the rebei Congress-not one of whom would dare to show himself openly in the district he affects to represent. We are at a loss to imagine any pretext to claim this strunch and loyal State as one in that treasonable fellowship, unless it be that, being the birth-place of their President, it is necessary to claim it for the Confederacy to avoid the awkward conclusion of his ineligibility to his post by the disqualification of being a foreigner.

In Tennessee the proceeding was even less orderly than

It is not necessary to pursue further the history of these events as they were developed in the first stage of this ferocious assault upon the Union. Those I have brought into view are quite sufficient to afford us an unmistakeable index to the purpose and temper of the Southern leaders. They denote rebellion and nothing but rebellion against the lawful Government of the United States-reb conceived in the bitterest hostility and perpetrated with mmediate recourse to arms. They prove the dissimulation of that official challenge to the world to recognise in this terrible attack upon the public order an honest asser. tion of a constitutional right. They cast an air of chocking mockery over that prevish plaint which came up every where, at that day, from the depths of the secession-'al we ask is let us alone !

The movement was revolution-an attempt to break to pieces an existing dynasty by force; and history will so describe it. Let it be measured by the law of revolution. If the National Government has grievously failed in its duty to any State, afflicting it with an irremediable wrong let it be so judged and the revolution vindicated. If, on the other hand, the Government of the Union has done them no wrong; if these complaints have grown out of the mere illusion of a heated fancy; still more if this wild and reckless outrage upon the peace of society has been prompted by the insolence of ambition, and the credulous hosts of the South have been persuaded by fraudulent misrepresentation to lift their bands against the paternal and beneficent Government which has protected them and given them the inappreciable blessings of a grand and powerful republic; and, above all, if the contrivers of this flagitious plot have been pandering to the rival enmity the great Powers of the eart! parricidal enterprise and have sought, by the unutterable baseness of complicity with them, to shear the American people of that strength which has made them and their institutions the refuge of oppressed freedom throughout the world-then, we say, let them be held to the strict responsibility of that immense crime.

And, again, if there really be any considerable portion of the people of the United States-sufficiently considerable to originate authentic opinion-who believe in the doctrine of secession and are capable of the enormity of this revolt to bring it into exercise-then, also for that reason, let the war go on until every fibre of that pestilent heresy is cut out and forever destroyed in the fire of popular censure, that no germ of it may remain to engender a new growth of dieaster and ruin in this beautiful garden of American liberty. PAUL AMBROSE.

## THE MALDEN ROBBERY AND MURDER.

Speaking of this foul crime the New York Commercia

Advertiser says: We notice that many of the Boston clergy made the tory of this miserable man (Edwin Green) the theme of their discourses on Sunday last, holding it torth as a solam warning to the young men of their congregations and entreating them to mark the process by which he such and entreating them to mark the process by which he sunk to ruin. There is need of these warnings and cautions in all parts of our land. Our young men are living too fast. Extravagance, improvidence, love of pleasure and show, and dishonest indifference to the accumulation of debt, are characteristic of thousands of our youth. They think it disgraceful to live frugally and within their means. Input it disgraceful to live frugally and within their means. The habits they form not only exhaust their pecuniary means and compel them to run into debt, but their moral sense becomes obtuse, and every noble and manly feeling is crushed out, till they are prepared to yield to temptations and to commit crimes of the darkest has to relieve themselves of debt, or to keep up the display and the self-indulgence to which they have become enslaved. Hundreds of young men in this city are living in a style and at an expense which cannot be sustained by their earnings or by any honest means, and they can have no hope of meating. any honest means, and they can have no hope of meet their obligations honestly. They must rob or cheat son body to keep up the show for any length of time."

THE PROCEEDS OF A GREAT FAIR. The managers of the Cincinnati Fair for the Sanitary Commission have paid over to the Commission \$220,000 

two rooms, 174 Vine a reet.

For goods to resell upon tables, and refreshments 1,003 33 24,401 84 220,000 00

\$263 85 : 64

Balance in treasury February 2. ..... From expenses of building, &c should be deducted sale of two bazaars and Palace Garden, amounting to about \$13,000, and also sundry receipts for furniture, &c. paid nto the treasury.

On Tuesday, while a clerk in the New York custom house was engaged in stowing away three bage of gold. each containing, it is said, the sum of five thousand dollars. one of them was stolen, and no trace has since been discovered as to the whereabouts either of the bag or its purloiner. The office was crowded at the time of the theft by parties paying duties.

Judge NELSON, of the United States Circuit Court of Minnesota, has decided that citizens of States in rebellion are to be considered as enemies, and are not entitled to sue in that court. The decision was made in the case of Israel G. Nash, of Salem, North Carolina, complainant against Lyman Dayton et al., of St. Paul, citizens of Min-